

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 TOKYO 12109

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JA, PORG
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON JAPANESE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REFS: A. STATE 159747; B. 76 TOKYO 3052

1. AS REQUESTED REF A, THIS CABLE PROVIDES UPDATE OF
DESCRIPTION OF JAPANESE MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES
IN REF B.

I. JAPANESE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

2. DESCRIPTION OF JAPAN'S APPROACH TO MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY
CONTAINED PART II OF 76 TOKYO 3052 REMAINS VALID. WE WOULD,
HOWEVER, STRESS FOLLOWING POINTS IN REGARD TO U.S. EFFORTS
TO ENLIST JAPANESE SUPPORT FOR OUR MULTILATERAL OBJECTIVES:

--NATURE OF JAPANESE SUPPORT WILL OFTEN BE DIRECTLY
DEPENDENT UPON QUALITY OF CONSULTATIONS WITH U.S.

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SPECIFICALLY, DEGREE TO WHICH U.S. CAN PROVIDE GOJ WITH
SUFFICIENT LEAD TIME AND DETAILED RATIONALE FOR OUR
INITIATIVES CAN MAKE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MERE JAPANESE
ACQUIESCENCE IN OUR POSITIONS AND ACTIVE SUPPORT AND
LOBBYING ON OUR BEHALF. WHILE IN RECENT YEARS WE
HAVE ESTABLISHED EXTENSIVE SERIES OF FORMAL AND AD HOC
DISCUSSIONS WITH GOJ ON VARIETY OF SUBJECTS, FONOFF

HAS RECENTLY INDICATED DESIRE FOR GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER COMMON POSITIONS AT EARLIER STAGE IN US DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.

--FREQUENT AND EARLY CONSULTATIONS IS NOT MERELY MATTER OF ASSUAGING JAPANESE NATIONAL PRIDE. GOJ POLICYMAKING PROCESS IS GEARED TO GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF INTERNAL CONSENSUS AND DOES NOT RESPOND EASILY TO PRESSURE FOR IMMEDIATE DECISIONS. EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION AT EARLY STAGE CAN STRENGTHEN LEVERAGE OF THOSE ELEMENTS WITHIN GOJ MOST FAVORABLE TO OUR POSITIONS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP INTRA-GOVERNMENTAL CONSENSUS.

--AT SAME TIME WE SHOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO DEVALUE EFFECTIVENESS OF HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS TO GOJ BY OVERLOADING CIRCUIT, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO TACTICAL QUESTIONS OR QUESTIONS WHICH COULD BE HANDLED WITH EQUAL EFFECTIVENESS BY LOWER LEVELS. DEMARCHES TO GOJ AT HIGH LEVEL IN TOKYO SHOULD BE LIMITED TO KEY ISSUES. MOREOVER, WE SENSE THAT ON TACTICAL QUESTIONS, AS OPPOSED TO THOSE INVOLVING BROADER POLICY, JAPANESE ARE MOST COMFORTABLE WHEN INITIALLY APPROACHED AT MULTILATERAL-DELEGATION OR MISSION LEVEL THAN BY REPRESENTATIONS TO SENIOR OFFICIALS IN TOKYO NOT IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED OR INFORMED ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. REINFORCING ACTIONS OR OTHER APPROACHES AT WORKING
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LEVEL, ON OTHER HAND, ARE GENERALLY IN ORDER AND ARE OFTEN CONDUCTIVE TO SUSTAINING PARTNERSHIP DIALOGUE.

II. MULTILATERAL ISSUES AFFECTING JAPAN

3. MTN: NO OTHER NATION HAS GREATER STAKE IN SUCCESS OF MTN THAN DOES JAPAN. GOJ REPRESENTATIVES HAVE INDICATED JAPAN WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO HELP MEET TIMETABLE SET FORTH BY U.S. AND AGREED TO BY EC. JAPAN HAS TABLED TARIFF FORMULA AND IS PREPARED FOR SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT ON NON-TARIFF TRADE MEASURES. JAPAN WILL, HOWEVER, FACE DIFFICULT DECISIONS WITH REGARD TO TREATMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. IF U.S. AND EC CAN REACH UNDERSTANDING ON THESE ISSUES, JAPAN WILL HAVE TO ADDRESS FOR FIRST TIME JUST HOW FAR IT CAN GO IN REMOVING PROTECTION FOR ITS POLITICALLY POWERFUL AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. FULL RANGE OF MTN ISSUES ARE SCHEDULED TO BE DISCUSSED IN BILATERAL TALKS WITH U.S. SEPTEMBER 7-9.

4. UNCTAD: JAPAN IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE ITS PRESENT

POSTURE OF PROMOTING DIALOGUE IN LOW-KEY WAY, AGREEING WITH OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ON SUBSTANCE BUT AVOIDING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE APPEARANCE OF OPPOSITION TO LDC AIMS. ALTHOUGH JAPAN REMAINS UNENTHUSIASTIC OVER ANY EXPANDED INSTITUTIONAL ROLE FOR UNCTAD WHICH WOULD GIVE LDC'S GREATER INFLUENCE ON TRADE, AID AND MONETARY DECISIONS, IT IS HESITANT TO OPPOSE ACTIVELY SUCH PROPOSALS WHEN BACKED BY STRONG LDC MAJORITY.

5. IEA: JAPAN'S PARTICIPATION IN IEA GROWS OUT OF ITS VULNERABILITY TO IMPORTED ENERGY SOURCES AND CONSEQUENT NEED TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED OIL CONSUMERS. GOJ POSITIONS ARE GENERALLY IN ACCORD WITH THOSE OF U.S., ALTHOUGH IT CONFIDENTIAL

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MAY DIFFER WITH US ON SPECIFIC TACTICS, E.G., WHETHER TO AGREE TO SPECIFIC TARGET FIGURES FOR ITS ENERGY PROGRAMS (WHICH MIGHT CAUSE EMBARRASSMENT IF THEY ARE NOT MET). IN IEA R&D PROGRAMS, JAPAN HAS NOT PARTICIPATED SATISFACTORILY, DUE PRIMARILY TO DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING MONEY FROM FINANCE MINISTRY, WHICH HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE FUNDS FOR EVEN DOMESTIC ALTERNATIVE ENERGY R&D PROGRAMS ("SUNSHINE PROJECT") LET ALONE IEA PROGRAMS.

6. IFAD: JAPAN HAS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE WITH CONTRIBUTION OF 53 MILLION DOLLARS.

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7. LOS: AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER MULTILATERAL ISSUE, LOS HAS CAPTURED BOTH OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION AS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT TO JAPANESE INTERESTS. JAPAN HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO CONCLUSION OF COMPREHENSIVE LOS TREATY, INsofar AS POSSIBLE ALONG LINES FAVORED BY OTHER MAJOR MARITIME POWERS IN GROUP OF FIVE, AS BEST MEANS OF PROTECTING ITS WORLD-WIDE FISHING AND NAVIGATION INTERESTS. WHILE WAITING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH LOS REGIME, HOWEVER, JAPANESE HAVE TAKEN BATTERING DURING PAST TWO YEARS BY UNILATERAL DECLARATIONS OF EXPANDED OFFSHORE JURISDICTION--FIRST BY US AND THEN BY SOVIET UNION. DAMAGE TO DOMESTIC FISHING INTERESTS EARLIER THIS YEAR BY SOVIET 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE FORCED GOJ TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN 200-MILE ZONE AND TO EXTEND ITS TERRITORIAL WATERS TO 12 MILES WITH EXCEPTION OF PARTICULAR INTERNATIONAL STRAITS. DESPITE SOME PRESSURE TO BAR NUCLEAR-ARMED OR POWERED VESSELS FROM THESE STRAITS, GOJ HAS HELD TO OBJECTIVE OF UNIMPEDED CONFIDENTIAL

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TRANSIT REGIME. (76 TOKYO 18955, TOKYO 3557).

8. FEARFUL OF RADICAL EXCESSES AT LOS CONFERENCE, JAPAN HAS HAD NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT CLOSE TACTICAL ALIGNMENT WITH US ON RANGE OF LOS POSITIONS. DESPITE DISAPPOINTING RESULTS OF MOST RECENT LOS SESSION, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT JAPAN WOULD WISH TO SEE U.S. AND OTHER MAJOR MARITIME POWERS WITHDRAW FROM LOS DELIBERATIVE PROCESS AT THIS TIME.

9. DISARMAMENT: SINCE DIET RATIFICATION OF NPT LAST YEAR, GOJ HAS PLACED GREATER PUBLIC STRESS ON ITS TRADITIONAL ROLE AS ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPANT IN ARMS-CONTROL DISCUSSIONS. BECAUSE OF SPECIAL SENSITIVITIES, GOJ HAS OCCASIONALLY URGED FASTER PACE TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THAN U.S. ON WHOLE, HOWEVER, GOJ HAS SOUGHT CLOSE COOPERATION WITH U.S. IN SEARCH FOR REALISTIC ARMS-CONTROL MEASURES AND HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED BY NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE CTB AND LIMITATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS--TWO FIELDS IN WHICH JAPAN HAS EXPRESSED SPECIAL INTEREST. JAPAN SHARES WITH US DESIRE TO HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE AND "NON-POLEMICAL"

SSOD NEXT YEAR. (76 TOKYO 9600, TOKYO 1756, TOKYO 2076)

10. KOREAN QUESTION: JAPAN CONTINUES TO REGARD STABILITY OF KOREAN PENINSULA AS VITAL TO JAPANESE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING. IN JAPANESE EYES, PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL OF US GROUND FORCES FROM ROK HAS INCREASED NEED FOR LONG-TERM REDUCTION OF TENSIONS ON PENINSULA AND GOJ WILL SUPPORT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA. GOJ IS HOPEFUL THAT UNGA CONFRONTATION OVER KOREA CAN BE AVOIDED AGAIN THIS YEAR BUT, AS BEFORE, WILL ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN KOREAN CORE GROUP EFFORTS TO COUNTER PRO-CONFIDENTIAL

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PYONGYANG RESOLUTIONS IN GA IF THAT BECOMES NECESSARY (TOKYO 11073).

11. MIDDLE EAST: JAPANESE POLICY ON MIDEAST QUESTIONS AS THEY ARISE IN MULTILATERAL CONTEXT WILL REMAIN CAUTIOUS AND DEFENSIVE, BASED ON JAPANESE VULNERABILITY VIS-A-VIS ARAB OIL-PRODUCERS. UNDER CONTINUED PRESSURE FROM ARAB STATES, JAPANESE WILL LIKELY ACQUIESCE IN ALL BUT MOST DRASTIC ANTI-ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS BUT WILL ALSO SEEK TO AVOID SERIOUSLY ALIENATING US OR UNDERCUTTING US EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN AREA. (76 TOKYO 11065).

12. AFRICA: IN PAST RACISM WITHIN AFRICAN CONTEXT HAS NOT BEEN MAJOR ISSUE FOR JAPANESE. THEY HAVE FAVORED MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND OPPOSED APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, SUPPORTING IN LOW-KEY MANNER MODERATE AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS IN UNGA. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, JAPANESE RELUCTANCE TO JEOPARDIZE THEIR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS WITH WHITE REGIMES HAS EARNED THEM SOME CRITICISM FROM BLACK AFRICAN STATES. RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS OF GREATER GOJ INTEREST IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS WITH POSSIBILITY FOR GREATER JAPANESE COOPERATION IN ADHERENCE TO RHODESIAN SANCTIONS.

13. RELATIONSHIP TO ASEAN: AS PART OF JAPAN'S MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, GOJ HAS PLACED INCREASED PRIORITY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH ASEAN. GOJ HOPES THAT JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE, BEGUN EARLIER THIS YEAR, WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY ADVANCED BY FUKUDA VISIT TO ASEAN SUMMIT AND POST-SUMMIT TRAVELS TO EACH ASEAN CAPITAL. JAPAN SEEKS TO BOLSTER STABILITY OF ASEAN STATES (LARGELY BY TAKING MORE POSITIVE APPROACH ON ECONOMIC AID) AND TO FACILITATE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN ASEAN AND INDOCHINA COMMUNIST STATES. PERCEIVING ITSELF AS ESSENTIALLY COMPLEMENTING U.S. OBJECTIVES IN REGION, JAPAN DESIRES COOPERATION AND

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COORDINATION WITH U.S., WITHOUT, HOWEVER, CONVEYING
ANY SENSE OF U.S.-JAPAN "COLLUSION."

14. HUMAN RIGHTS: WHILE JAPAN SUPPORTS IN PRINCIPLE
U.S. GOALS IN FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CONSIDERABLE
UNCERTAINTY PERSISTS OVER DIRECTIONS IN WHICH
INCREASED U.S. ACTIVISM IN THIS AREA WILL LEAD. IN
JAPANESE PERCEPTION, QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS
MOST IMMEDIATELY IDENTIFIED WITH POLITICAL SITUATION
IN ROK. THERE IS SOME CONCERN WITHIN GOJ THAT INCREASED
U.S. PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROK MIGHT PUT FURTHER
STRAIN ON U.S.-KOREAN RELATIONSHIP WITH ADVERSE EFFECTS
ON NE ASIAN SECURITY SITUATION. FOR

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FEAR OF COMPLICATING ITS OWN DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP
WITH ROK, GOJ HAS EXERCISED RESTRAINT IN ITS PUBLIC
STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH MIGHT BE APPLIED TO
SOUTH KOREA. WHILE JAPAN MIGHT SUPPORT IN LOW-KEY

MANNER CAREFULLY-COORDINATED US INITIATIVES ON THIS SUBJECT IN UN, IT WILL AVOID TAKING HIGHLY VISIBLE POSTURE.

15. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: ITS CONCERN OVER SPREAD OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM HEIGHTENED BY PAST ACTIONS OF JAPAN RED ARMY, GOJ HAS EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR INITIATIVES TO COUNTER THIS PROBLEM. ITS FAILURE HOWEVER, TO TAKE LEAD IN THIS AREA REFLECTS ITS SENSITIVITY TO MIDEAST ASPECTS OF TERRORISM ISSUE AND ITS DESIRE NOT TO APPEAR HOSTILE TO PALESTINIAN CAUSE.

16. ILO: STRONG SUPPORTER OF U.S. POSITION AT ILO CONFERENCE IN GENEVA THIS JUNE, JAPAN IS NOW EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCERNED OVER IMPLICATIONS OF U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM THAT ORGANIZATION. IN SHORT-TERM JAPANESE WILL ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE U.S. NOT TO WITHDRAW. (TOKYO 10089).

17. U.N. BUDGET AND STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS: IN GENERAL JAPANESE SHARE U.S. CONCERNS OVER RAPIDLY ESCALATING U.N. SYSTEMS BUDGET AND PROLIFERATION OF NEW U.N. BODIES. GOJ CAN BE EXPECTED TO COOPERATE WITH U.S. EFFORTS TO MEET THESE PROBLEMS.

18. POLITICIZATION OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES: IN PRINCIPLE GOJ AGREES WITH U.S. OPPOSITION TO INCREASING POLITICIZATION OF UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. WHEN THIS ISSUE, HOWEVER, IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO MIDEAST AS WITH PLO REPRESENTATION, GOJ WILL BE MOTIVATED BY FEAR OF COMMERCIAL RETALIATION AND IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE STRONG STAND. WHILE AT TIMES UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THIS POSITION, IT IS LIKELY GOJ WILL CONTINUE THIS PATTERN.

19. ILLICIT PAYMENTS AGREEMENT: ALTHOUGH IT PREFERS DEALING WITH PROBLEM THROUGH BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AS DURING LOCKHEED INVESTIGATION AND IS SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT EXPORT SALES, GOJ WILL PROBABLY SUPPORT SUCH AN AGREEMENT BECAUSE OF RECENT SCANDALS INVOLVING ILLICIT PAYMENTS.

20. INFCEP: JAPAN, VITALLY INTERESTED IN OUTCOME OF CURRENT NON-PROLIFERATION CONTROVERSY, CAN BE EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE IN INFCEP STUDY. JAPAN HAS STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT U.S. NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS APPROACHES, CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT OF FBR AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES
IN JAPAN.

21. IAEA: JAPAN HAS RATIFIED NPT AND IS NOW SUBJECT TO SAFEGUARDS PROVISIONS OF THAT TREATY. AS A RESULT OF BAN ON REPROCESSING SPENT-FUEL ADVOCATED BY U.S., SOME JAPANESE NOW QUESTION VALUE OF ACCESSION TO NPT AND GOJ IS EXPERIENCING UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING DIET RATIFICATION ON NPT SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, JAPAN IS FULFILLING ITS OBLIGATIONS AS MEMBER OF IAEA AND SIGNATORY OF NPT AND WE EXPECT WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

22. CCMS: WHILE NOT OFFICIAL PARTICIPANT IN CCMS STUDIES, OVER THE YEARS JAPAN HAS PARTICIPATED AND CONTRIBUTED TO CCMS WORK. RECENTLY, FOREIGN MINISTER HAS BANNED FURTHER PARTICIPATION BY GOJ OFFICIALS CITING POSSIBILITY OF "POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS" (I.E. CONCERN THAT ITS PARTICIPATION WILL LINK IT TOO CLOSELY TO NATO, WHICH SPONSORS THE PROJECTS).

23. ANTARCTIC TREATY: AS ONE OF 12 SIGNATORIES JAPAN CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN ANTARCTICA. INCREASED INTEREST IN QUESTION OF RESOURCE UTILIZATION (BOTH LAND AND SEA) AND TERRITORIAL CLAIMS EXERTED BY OTHER NATIONS WILL HEIGHTEN JAPANESE ATTENTION TO THIS ACTIVITY IN THE FUTURE. JAPAN WILL SUPPORT U.S. POSITION ON RESOURCE UTILIZATION AS LONG AS OTHER MEMBERS ALSO ABSTAIN FROM EXPLOITATION.
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